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in at the same time, while calabashes and melon vines are planted where the ash of the fires that consumed the cleared brush can fertilize them. Rice, which grows some four months before it matures, is planted between May and August in special patches reserved for this crop. Millet, planted in July, August, and September, can be harvested in January. Potatoes and manioc are put in the earth the latter quarter of the year and are harvested during the next dry season. Bananas, according to their species, are planted between April and September. Red beans, which mature twice a year and are cultivated high on the mountains surrounding the valleys, where it is cool, are planted in January and February and in August and September; they are harvested in June and January.

Sugar-cane is almost as important today as it was in the earliest days of Haitian agriculture. It is planted from May to July and gathered a year later, two fields being necessary if an annual crop is to be harvested. Once the cane is in the ground, however, it gives crop after crop without the need of preparing the fields or planting new shoots each year. Yams and *malangan* are cultivated on the mountainsides, the land often being worked by a system of share-cropping whereby a farmer who lives in the valley but owns mountain land employs a near-by peasant to work for him, providing him with the necessary supplies and entering into an agreement that the crop will be divided equally between them. This system, however, is said by the landowning Haitians to be unsatisfactory, since there is no way to verify the yield without spending an excessive amount of time. The Haitian farmer grows other produce: cabbage, squash, onions, garlic, peanuts, peppers, papaya, and spices, while the trees near the houses give coconuts, oranges, avocados, mangos, guavas, and other fruits.

Crops are not planted during the first quarter of the moon, the preferred time in Mirebalais being from eight days after the new moon until the full moon. It is held that anything

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planted at other times will spoil. Similarly, millet and maize must not be harvested during these periods, or small insects will eat the grain. "No crop whose root is used for food may be planted during the forbidden phases of the moon," say the educated cultivators also, citing experiences of their own or of their neighbors who, being skeptical, planted their potatoes or other tubers during the wrong phase of the moon, only to have them completely spoil. In some instances not only the phases of the moon, but entire months are held unpropitious for planting. Thus July is regarded as a "weak" month for planting potatoes and plantains, while April, May, June, and August are preferred ones.

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As in all Negro cultures, the Haitians dare not ignore the supernatural powers that rule the universe, where the question of getting a living is concerned. In the valley of Mirebalais, if the land where a field is to be made has a stream, a cock must be sacrificed to the spirit that resides in it, together with oil, peas, and some non-intoxicating drink. In making the offering, protection is asked against those who might steal from the field or injure it:

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"Maître Source, moin mandé pou' ou gadé jardin moin vini fait ici. Cé pas pou' ou laissé méchant, malfaiteur contrarié tout ça moin mété nan terr'a. Si moin bien récolté, moin va ba ou un pile mangé. — Master of the Stream, I pray you to protect the garden I have just made here. Do not permit any evil designing person to harm all that I have put into the ground. If I harvest well, I will give you much food."

An invocation such as the following might also be pronounced on this occasion:

"Jesu Christ, les Saints, Marassa, les Morts: M'ap' travaillé; m'ap' planté graines-là. Pou' fai'l donné pou' moin, pou' m' join, pou' m' bai' Mystères, les Saintes, les Marassa, les Morts. — Jesus Christ, Saints, Twins, the

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[539] *Toussaint, voici un couvert moin porté ba ou. Ou gardé vot' enfant, comme vot' père et vot' mère dans la maison.* — In the name of the Master of the Crossroads; in the name of the Master of the Great Forest; in the name of Baron Cemetery! Today, the first of All Saints' Day, here are offerings I bring you. Guard your child as your father and your mother in the house."

[788] *Clairin* is thrown three times at each fork of the crossroads, and some is also sprinkled in the center and at each corner of the container of food. Three bits of earth are finally lifted from the corners of the crossroads and taken to the home of the worshipper. Here they are put in a plate with *clairin*, which is first lighted and then extinguished, so that the members of the family can anoint themselves with it and receive strength with which to face the new year.

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821 Good magic has many expressions. Thus there is said to be secret knowledge, transmitted in certain families from generation to generation, of how to control the rains. Those who have control of magic of this sort are to be recognized when they are seen to be completely dry while walking in a downpour. Generally such powers are used to insure a rainless day for a *combite* or *service*, or to cause rain to fall the day after a *combite* has made the field ready for hoeing, or when the proper time for planting is at hand. Eventually, it is said, in response to a temptation too great to be resisted, the possessor
[784] of such magic will put it to other, evil ends. Then sooner or later the punishment for this abuse of his knowledge is visited upon him, so that in the end he meets his death by being struck by the avenging lightning.

789 The most powerful type of protective magic is known as a *drogue*. One of the most potent of these — of the type referred to by Léger in commenting on the ox-tail carried by Hyacinthe, or such a one as tradition holds Christophe possessed, which gave him immunity from all but silver bullets — makes

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gory is St. John the Baptist, worshipped as *loa* St. Jean Baptiste, who sends the thunder and lightning. The power and irresponsibility which characterize him contrast strangely with the gentle child holding a lamb, shown on the *image*. The connection becomes apparent in the light of African mythology, however, where the ram is the emblem of the god of thunder, while following this same belief lambs are sacrificed to St. Jean Baptiste in Haiti. The following myth is told of him:

> On a given day of the year God permits each saint to have control over the universe. St. John the Baptist, however, is so irresponsible, and his rage so violent, that God fears the consequences if he were allowed to exert his power on his day. By plying him with drink the day before, he is therefore made so drunk that when he falls asleep he does not awaken for five days. When he is told his day has already passed, his rage is so terrible that great storms flay the earth, and it is a commonplace in Mirebalais that this day is marked by thunder and lightning storms of almost hurricane proportions. Though he can do some damage, his power is now limited, however, to his own sphere.

In the second category are the forces of nature personified and worshipped as saints. Among those specifically named were St. Soleil (St. Sun), St. la Lune (St. Moon), Sts. Étoiles (St. Stars), and St. la Terre (St. Earth). Even more striking is the concept that the power capable of bringing reverses is to be worshipped, as a copy of an *oraison* to St. Bouleversé which was obtained clearly shows:

> St. Bouleversé, you who have the power to overturn the earth, you are a saint and I am a sinner. I invoke you, and I take you for my patron from today onward. I send you to seek out such-and-such a one; overturn his head,

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as a limping old man, clad in tatters, but in his several manifestations has more specific characteristics. Thus Legba Pié Cassé is described as having paralyzed legs, with arms held stiff and crooked before him, and Legba Avardra is spoken of as a *vagabond* who continually wanders the principal highways. Legba must first be summoned before any ceremony may begin, and when it was asked how Legba could be expected to come when called simultaneously to three or four or twenty or fifty places, the parallel given was that of the multiple manifestations of which God or Christ or a saint is capable. Legba, identified with St. Anthony, has Tuesday as his sacred day, and the plum tree is reserved for him. He " eats " a varicolored type of cock known as *poule zinga,* marked like a guinea-fowl, and in this differs from other gods who must indicate through a possessed devotee or a diviner what specific offering among the things they favor is wanted on the occasion of each sacrifice. Though in southern Haiti the smallest chick from each hatching is reserved for Legba, and at least once during his lifetime a man puts aside a bullock or a male goat as a sacrifice for this god, these customs do not prevail in Mirebalais. Here, when an offering to the gods is in prospect, Legba is included among the *loa* to whom a certain animal is promised, and, as in the case of other deities, this animal is thereafter under his protection. But this is the nearest approach to any special offerings for this god.

Damballa, an important Rada god whose symbol is the serpent, is said to bring rain because they sing " *Damballa ian l'eau* — Damballa in the water." The sacred color of this deity, worn by devotees under possession, is white, and the full initiates wear white necklaces as well as white clothing. This god, identified with St. Patrick, is especially worshipped on Thursdays, and shares the white fig tree with Erzilie and Gran' Siligbo. Damballa " eats " sacrifices of white chickens and pigeons, rice, milk, eggs, pineapples, and fig-bananas; and " drinks " *kola* and sweetened coffee. Damballa forms the

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rainbow, and this is called an *arc d'alliance* between him and Aida Wedo, his wife, whose characteristic dress is blue and white. Sobo, who in Dahomey is the god of thunder, is also believed in Haiti to give thunder, though he is not thought to live in the sky. As in Africa, his symbol is the ram. Aizan lives in the water, and is a favored deity because he gives his devotees the power of healing and of divining.

Erzilie, a *loa* of considerable importance, is envisaged as a pale, trembling woman who also inhabits the water. She constantly changes her dresses, of which she has many. All agree that she is a fabulously wealthy woman, who wears golden chains about her neck and has many rings, a characterization derived from her identification with Mater Dolorosa, whose chromolithographs depict her with many rich ornaments. As a Rada *loa* she "eats" the same food as Damballa, and wears white, like this other god, but has Friday as her sacred day. In her less pleasant manifestation of Erzilie Gé Rouge, the red-eyed one, she is a member of the Pétro "squad," and is held to be the wife of Simbi d'l'eau, with whom she is believed to get on especially well, since they "eat" different foods. Simbi, who is worshipped on Tuesdays and inhabits the mango and calabash trees, is said to drink heavily, however, and occasionally becomes so boistrous in his cups that he destroys the furniture and otherwise makes himself so objectionable that Erzilie is forced to leave him until he becomes sober.

Ogun, in Haiti as in Nigeria, is the god of war. The Nigerian Shango is also found, though the Haitians conceive Shango as a *loa* who acts as the servant of the Ogun deities, particularly Ogun Badagri and Ogun Batala. Ogun "eats" red cocks and red beans mixed with rice, and his color, red, is worn by his devotees. To this fact may be referred the custom of the Caco warriors who fought against the American Marines in 1918–20 to wear red as their distinguishing color, something referred to by Wirkus (pp. 22 ff.), though he

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the earth like the carrying pad that women wear to support bundles on their heads. Whenever Ayida Wèdo shifted his position there were earthquakes.[2] When the rainbow appeared after a rain it was said that Ayida had come out from under the earth to drink of the fresh water.

DAMBALLA GRAND CHIMIN (Damballa of the Highway). Another manifestation of Damballa as a protector of those on long journeys.

DAMBALLA VERRE. Another manifestation of Damballa.

DOMICI WÈDO. Considered to be the daughter of Damballa. The ending of her name (*-ci*) suggests that at one time she may have been considered a wife rather than a daughter.

DOKI WÈDO. A member of Damballa's family.

AGÃO WÈDO. A member of Damballa's family. Said to be a "work loa" who aids men with their gardens, especially in time of illness.

ÉZILIE DOBA, or DOOBA, sometimes spelled EZULIE. One of the "big" loa of the Dahomé pantheon, a symbol of purity, and sometimes identified with the Virgin Mary. Her color is white, and services to her include a ritual sweeping and sprinkling of the earth and a perfuming of the air. Food offerings to her include corn meal and eggs. Male "horses" of Ézilie are sometimes bound to her by mystic marriages, and they are obligated to refrain from sexual intercourse on certain days which belong to her. There are a number of Ézilies, regarded as members of the same family or, in some cult centers, as different manifestations of the same deity. Some Haitians regard Ézilie Doba as the ancestor of the Ézilie family and refer to her as Grand Ézilie. Note that there is a Dahomean town named Dogba at approximately 0° 6′ E., 6° 50′ N.

ÉZILIE FRÉDA, or ÉZILIE DAHOMAIN (Dahomé), or ÉZILIE FRÉDA DAHOMAIN. Like Ézilie Doba, she is a symbol of purity and is identified with the Virgin Mary. Mystic marriages are performed with her, and her "horses" are obligated to refrain from sexual intercourse on certain days. She is also a giver of wealth.

ÉZILIE WÈDO. A sister or daughter of Ézilie Doba and also related to Damballa.

ÉZILIE MAISOL. A sister of Ézilie Fréda.

ÉZILIE BANDA. A manifestation of Ézilie who is especially fond of the Banda dance.

ÉZILIE JÉROUGE (Red Eyes). A stern and hard Ézilie who is often identified with Pétro rather than Dahomé rites.

AÏSON FRÉDA. A member of the Ézilie escorte, regarded as a market-place protector. In Dahomey, Aïson was a protector of all public gathering places.[3]

AÏSON BELÉKÉTÉ

AÏSON DLEAU BOLO BOSU

MAÎTRESSE MAMBO. A special form of Ézilie as priestess.

MAÎTRESSE ESPAGNOLE, or 'PAGNOLE. A person mounted by this Ézilie talks only Spanish.

SOBO, or SOGBO. A thunder deity who hurls stones to the earth when angered. Some of the stones thrown by Sobo are regarded as the sacred residence of various loa. Sobo (or Sogbo) is a member of the original Thunder pantheon of Dahomey.

SOBO BADÉ, or SOBO BADÈ, or simply BADÉ. A close relative of Sobo, regarded as the protector of the hounfor (*badé*). In Dahomey, Badé is sometimes referred to as the son of the deity Sobo.[4]

[2] [See Ellis, The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa, pp. 47-49; and Herskovits, Dahomey, II, 245ff. Cf. p. 354 Category 116. --Analyst]

[3] [Ellis, op. cit., p. 52. Cf. p. 354, Category 116. --Analyst]

[4] [Herskovits, op. cit., pp. 152ff. Cf. p. 354, Cat. 116. --Analyst]

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776 Agassú Tonnerre, also pronounced Agassú Tonnere. Another thunder loa. Abomé (or Agbomé) is the name of an ancient capital of Dahomey.

Badessi. The wife of Sobo Badé.

So Narcisse, also called Sogo Narcisse, or simply So. A thunder loa of Dahomean [171] origin. In Dahomey he is regarded as an offspring of Mawu and Lisa, and a member of the Sky pantheon.

Kébiosu, or Kébioso. A thunder loa who, like Sobo, hurls stones to the earth. [171] In Dahomey he is known as Xevioso and is thought to be the same deity as So. In [166] Haiti, persons killed by lightning are thought to be enemies of Kébiosu and are given special treatment in burial.

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776 Agwé Woyo, known also as Coqui-Nan-Mer. He is a loa of the sea; thunder and 782 lightning over the ocean are thought to be Agwé shooting his cannon. He is usually [821] symbolized in pictures by a sailing or steam vessel. His colors are blue and white, [822] and the primary sacrificial animal for him is a male goat. High ceremonies for Agwé are begun in the hounfor and consummated in a sailing boat on the open sea, from which is launched a highly decorated and stylized miniature ship containing food for the deity. This tiny craft is known as the *barque d'Agwé*. Hounfors honoring this spirit usually have a small boat hanging from the rafters. In Dahomey, [191] Agwé is also a sea deity and a member of the Thunder pantheon.

776 Agwètta Woyo. She is thought to be Agwé Woyo's wife, though in Dahomey [191] she was considered to be his daughter.

Agwètu Wandénu. Said to be the son of Agwé.

La Sirène. Another deity of the sea, a latecomer visualized as a mermaid. La Sirène is usually thought of as belonging to a separate family, though she is frequently served along with Agwé. Some sociétés do not recognize her at all.

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776 Nananbouclou, or Nanan Boulouc[illegible]. A loa of herbs and medicines. In Dahomey 191 this spirit was considered the grandparent of all deities, the progenitor of Mawu and Lisa from whom all demigods are descended.[5/A] She is still remembered in the Dahomey cults of Cuba.

Lissa or Lisha. Probably the Lisa of Dahomey, child of Nanbouclou.

Attibon Legba, or Legba Sé. One of the most important of Haitian loa, fre- [982] quently the first one invoked in any service. He is the guardian of the gateway, the crossroads, and the highway. Cocks and male goats are his favorite foods, as in West Africa. In Dahomean tradition, Legba is the youngest offspring of Mawu and Lisa, the progenitors of all Dahomean deities. He is a divine trickster who is both feared [978] and loved, a force that is capriciously malevolent or benevolent. Today, as in earlier times in Dahomey, the image of Legba, made of clay, stands or sits before the entrance to many villages. Sometimes the image is nothing more than a mound or column of earth symbolizing a phallus. Legba's mischief and tricks are directed against the other deities and human beings. In Haiti, as in Dahomey, Legba is not a personal deity. As Herskovits points out, Legba has no "character" and cannot be [989] relied on. He is the intervener between mankind and the deities. It is in this sense that he "opens the gate," providing a channel of communication between man and loa; and it is for this reason that he is often supplicated first in religious ritual. In Dahomean lore, Legba's mischief is often in the realm of sex. In ritual dances for

5/A [Ibid, pp. 101ff. Cf. p. 354, Category 116.--Analyst]

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796 AZUL. A snake deity.

BABOULE. A loa who likes the Baboule dance.

CALBASSIE. Loa of the calabash tree.

[114] [191] CHÉBO PROFIEL. An ancient male deity. Herskovits suggests that he may represent the leopard, *zébo* being the Fon word for that animal. The wildness of the attack on the sacrificial animal by persons possessed by Chébo supports this conjecture. A deity called Dada Segbo is prominent in the Rada Cult of Trinidad.

SIMALO. A male loa who is believed responsible for fine physical proportions and bodily strength in men.

COQUI-NAN-DLEAU. Probably the same as Coqui-Nan-Mer (Agwé).

[171] AKADJA. This loa may well be the King Agadja of Dahomey who was said to be responsible for the coming of *vodu* (loa) into that country. Herskovits tells a legend about a woman named Hwandjile who prevailed upon the king to bring the *vodu* from the kingdom of Adja.[21] Hwandjile herself survives in Haiti under the name

WANILÉ, or HOUANILÉ

[82] [189] LINGLESSOU. A rainbow loa. Persons mounted in sight of a rainbow are thought to be possessed by this deity.

BLINGINSOU. "Marches" with Linglessou.

WANGOL, also called AGOVI WANGOL (King of Angola). This loa appears to be an interpolation from the Congo rites.

[189] ALOVI, or GADALOVI. A masculine, dwarflike spirit who likes to disarrange things and play practical jokes. Persons possessed by Alovi may break up gatherings, discommode spectators and dancers, and generally make a nuisance of themselves. Some Haitians regard this loa as belonging more to the Pétro pantheon than to the Dahomé.

MAÎT' BOIS (Master of the Woods). May be an interpolation of Maît' Grand Bois of the Congo-Guinée pantheon.

MAÎT' DLEAU (Master of the Water). May refer to the loa Simbi.

DAN WÈZO, or WÉZO. A loa known in the Artibonite region. The name is possibly a corruption of Dan Wèdo.

DJA KFKÉ

FVO, or NÈG' FVO. The name is that of a tribe on the Calabar coast of West Africa.

FARO PIERRE. Said to be the son of Pierre Basico.

GÉNÉRAL YENBATISSE, or JEAN BAPTISTE. Probably the Christian name of some Dahomé loa.

GRAND LESSAIGNE. An aged, dwarflike loa, guardian and protector of children.

GRAND ALABA, or ALOUBA

GRAND ALOUMANDIA, or MANMAN ALOUMANDIA. Believed to be a loa who was maît' tête of the Emperor Dessalines. Some informants consider this spirit to be a démon or loup-garou rather than a loa.

HOUNTOR. The spirit of the Arada drums. There is a difference of opinion on whether Hounter is a loa in the precise sense or merely a drum spirit. The term is sometimes used to designate the largest drum of the Arada trio.

[184] JEAN BATEAU. A loa well known in the region of Léogane. When he "enters," the possessed persons talk *langage* into a *canarie* (clay water vessel).

[187] MAÎT' DAVID. This loa always talks immaculate French, and persons possessed by him read cards and tell fortunes.

[21] [Herskovits, Dahomey, II, 104. Cf. p. 354, Cat. 116.--Ancl'ST]